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INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY EA/ PRCM: ADROMBERG: CU/ EA: AHARDING: EBS

5/3/73, EXT. 22535

APPROVED BY EA - AMB. HUMMEL

EA/ PRCM - RWSULLIVAN

CU/ EA - FTENNY

EA - RLSNEIDER

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R 040012 Z MAY 73

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TO AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 084463

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SCUL, CH

SUBJECT: CHINESE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXHIBITION

REFERENCE: PARIS 11893

1. NO DECISION WILL BE MADE ON SITES OTHER THAN WASHINGTON FOR PRC ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXHIBITION UNTIL PEKING INFORMS US HOW LONG THE EXHIBIT WILL BE AVAILABLE IN THE US. AT THAT TIME, THE DEPARTMENT, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON US- CHINA RELATIONS AND THE VARIOUS MUSEUMS WHICH HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN HOSTING THE EXHIBIT, WILL DECIDE ON EXHIBITION SITES. FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE ULTIMATE DECISION WILL INCLUDE SECURITY, SPACE AVAILABILITY, FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS, AND GEOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION. ALTHOUGH FINAL PLANS WILL BE SUBJECT TO PRC APPROVAL, WE AND NOT RPT NOT PEKING WILL DECIDE AMONG COMPETING AMERICAN MUSEUMS.

2. AS TO ANTICIPATED APPROACH BY MAYOR ALIOTO, EMBASSY SHOULD INFORM HIM THAT DECISIONS ON EXHIBITION SITES IN CONFIDENTIAL

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THE UNITED STATES ARE BEING MADE IN WASHINGTON AND THAT HIS MOST FRUITFUL COURSE OF ACTION WOULD BE TO CONTACT THE BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT OR THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON US- CHINA

RELATIONS IN NEW YORK. (FYI ALIOTO WILL PRESUMABLY
ALREADY HAVE BEEN TOLD THIS SINCE BOTH WE AND YOU HAVE
MADE SAME POINT WITH D' ARGENCE). IF ALIOTO STILL WANTS TO

SEE CHINESE EMBASSY OFFICIALS AND ASKS FOR YOUR HELP IN
SETTING AN APPNGTH ON INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS. HE POINTED OUT WITH
OBVIOUS PRIDE TO 14 POINT 4 GNP GROWTH LAST YEAR AND DEVELOP-
MENTS IN BOTH INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE. HE TOUCHED ON PRO-
JECTED INCREASES OF STEEL LOOKING TO A GOAL OF 15 MILLION
TONS WITHIN THE NEXT 10 YEARS, FOCUSSING ON THE PROVINCE OF
KHUZESTAN. HE IS CONVINCED THAT IN THE NEXT DECADE MODERN
TECHNOLOGY WILL BRING IRAN TO THE LEVEL OF ADVANCED EUROPEAN
COUNTRIES, THAT THE APPLICATION OF NEW IRRIGATION METHODS
WHICH CONSERVE WATER AND SCIENTIFIC USE OF FERTILIZERS WILL
PRODUCE DOUBLE AND TRIPLE CROPS. HE FOCUSED IN PARTICULAR
ON THE EXTRAORDINARY PRODUCTION OF ALFALFA, SUGAR CANE, AND
OTHER FARM PRODUCTS RESULTING FROM A HAPPY COMBINATION OF SUN-
RAY ANGLES AND ADEQUATE WATER SUPPLY RESULTING FROM DAM CON-
STRUCTION IN RECENT YEARS. HE STRESSED THAT DEVELOPMENT OF
INFRASTRUCTURE WILL PROVIDE IRAN WITH THE MEANS AND INSTITU-
TIONS TO HELP ASSURE ITS STABILITY. HE IS ORGANIZING LOCAL
VILLAGE COUNCILS ALONG WITH LABOR ASSOCIATIONS TO BUILD
DEMOCRACY FROM THE GRASSROOT. THROUGHOUT, HE STRESSED HIS OWN
PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT AND HIS HOPE THAT HE WILL LIVE AT LEAST
ANOTHER TEN YEARS TO SEE HIS PRESENT GOALS ACHIEVED. HE
STRESSED HIS DEDICATION TO DEVELOPING A MODERN IRAN BASED ON
AN ETHIC OF HARD WORK, MEANINGFUL REWARDS FOR WORK DONE IN
A SOCIETY BASED ON DIFFERENCES IN CAPACITIES OF INDIVIDUALS.
HE SEES THE TWO YEAR COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE AS AN
ESSENTIAL TRAINING TO INCULCATE PRINCIPLES OF DISCIPLINE IN
HIS PEOPLE. HE POINTED UP THE " UNIQUENESS" OF THE IRANIAN
EFFORT, TAKING THE BEST FROM A VARIETY OF SYSTEMS, CITING

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FOR EXAMPLE THAT THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE WORKS
IN IRAN (NOT IN THE USSR) BECAUSE LEADERSHIP MOTIVATES HARD-
WORKING IRANIANS LIVING IN A CLIMATE DEVOID OF THE OPPRESSION
CHARACTERISTIC OF THE COMMUNIST REGIME.

3. FROM THIS THE SHAH SWITCHED INTO A DISCUSSION OF SOVIET
INTENTIONS IN THE AREA, IDENTIFYING IRAQ AND INDIA AS TWO
COUNTRIES WITH WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS TREATIES OF FRIEND-
SHIP AND WHICH COULD PROVIDE DIRECT AVENUES IN THE TRADITIONAL
RUSSIAN THRUST FOR ACCESS TO THE PERSIAN GULF AND INDIAN
OCEAN. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE SHAH SPOKE OF HIS FRANK TALKS
WITH KOSYGIN DURING VISIT LAST MONTH. THE SHAH REPORTED HE
TOLD " KOSYGIN THAT I COULD NOT STAND FOR SUBVERSION IN THE
PERSIAN GULF AND THAT I COULD NOT STAND FOR THE DISINTE-
GRATION OF PAKISTAN." HE POINTED OUT THAT THE PERSIAN GULF
IS HIS LIFELINE AND THAT IT MUST REMAIN FREE FOR THE UNINTER-
RUPTED PASSAGE OF HIS SHIPS AND THOSE OF THE LITTORAL STATES.

THE SHAH EXPLAINED THAT THE BREAKUP OF PAKISTAN COULD WELL TEMPT THE SOVIETS INTO SOME DEAL WITH AFGHANISTAN WHICH WOULD PERMIT A DIRECT THRUST TO THE INDIAN OCEAN. HE STATED THAT TROUBLE IN PAKISTAN WOULD LEAD TO A " VIETNAM " NEAR RUSSIAN BORDERS, A DEVELOPMENT WHICH KOSYGIN CONCEDED THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT WANT TO SEE. THE SHAH ALSO EMPHASIZED HIS CONCERN THAT THERE BE NO EFFORTS IN BALUCHISTAN OR PUSHTUNISTAN WHICH COULD LEAD TO THEIR BECOMING SEPARATE ENTITIES. AS FOR IRAQ, THE SHAH STATED THAT HE WOULD REACT POSITIVELY TO IRAQI PEACEFUL OVERTURES BUT THEN HE WOULD INSIST ON A TOTAL END OF IRAQI INCURSIONS ACROSS THE IRANIAN BORDER AND OTHER EVIDENCES OF HOSTILITY BEFORE HE WOULD MAKE ANY SETTLEMENT WHICH DEPRIVED HIM OF HIS KURDISH CARD. HE INDICATED THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME FEELERS FROM IRAQ IN RECENT DAYS BUT DID NOT BECOME SPECIFIC AS TO THE FORM THEY TOOK. AT THIS POINT, THE SHAH SPOKE OF INDIA, ITS SANCTIMONIOUS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE OUTSIDE WORLD, AND HIS BELIEF THAT THIS COUNTRY EMPLOYS A DOUBLE STANDARD IN JUDGING ITS ACTIONS AS AGAINST THOSE OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

4. DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH LAUDED SHAH' S INTERNAL EFFORTS STRESSING THAT IRAN' S MILITARY STRENGTH AS WELL AS ITS INTERNAL STRENGTH WERE A MAJOR ELEMENT OF STABILITY IN THE GULF. IN SOME DETAIL, HE COMMENTED ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE INTERNAL

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DEVELOPMENTS DESCRIBED BY THE SHAH, DRAWING VARIOUS ANALOGIES TO OUR EXPERIENCES IN AGRICULTURE. AFTER REITERATING THE WARM PERSONAL AND OFFICIAL RELATIONS THAT EXIST BETWEEN PRESIDENT AND SHAH, RUSH OUTLINED SPECIFICS OF PRESIDENT' S POLICIES IN OPENING DIALOGUE WITH COMMUNIST CHINA, CONCRETE AGREEMENTS WITH SOVIET UNION, MOVES TOWARD DETENTE AND THE POSITIVE IMPACT OF THESE MOVES ON THE PERSIAN GULF AND ARABIAN PENINSULA AREA. WE HAVE MORE TO GAIN THAN THE RUSSIANS FROM THESE MOVES, RUSH SAID. DEPUTY SECRETARY MADE CLEAR OUR ASSESSMENT PARALLELS IN VERY LARGE MEASURE THAT OF THE SHAH' S ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WORLDWIDE AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS. SHAH WAS MUCH INTERESTED IN RUNDOWN WHICH SECRETARY RUSH GAVE OF TRIP TO THE SUB- CONTINENT, THE SIMLA PROCESS, THE RECENT INDIA- BANGLADESH PROPOSALS, MRS. GANDHI' S CURRENT OUTLOOK, OUR INTENTION TO MAINTAIN STRONG BOND OF FRIENDSHIP WITH PAKISTAN AND IRAN WHILE TRYING TO IMPROVE, IF POSSIBLE, OUR RELATIONS WITH INDIA. RUSH ASSURED SHAH THAT US WOULD VIEW WITH CONCERN ANY MOVE WHICH COULD THREATEN THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF PAKISTAN. HE STRESSED IRAN MUST BE STRONG. SECRETARY RUSH AGREED WITH SHAH' S EFFORTS TO TRY TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH ALL OF ITS NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING IRAQ SINCE IRAN WOULD BE DOING SO FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH.

5. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM SECRETARY RUSH ABOUT

SAUDI ARABIA, THE SHAH REPLIED THAT HIS RELATIONS WITH KING FAISAL PERSONALLY WERE GOOD AND THAT HE REGARDED HIM "ALMOST AS A BROTHER". ON THE OTHER HAND, HE POINTED OUT THE SAUDIS WERE DIFFICULT TO MAKE ONGOING ARRANGEMENTS WITH AND HE REALIZED MORE WORK WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE TO MAKE A REALITY OUT OF IRANIAN- SAUDI COLLABORATION. TURNING TO SHEIKH YAMANI' S INTIMATION IN WASHINGTON THAT SAUDI ARABIA MAY BE MORE DISPOSED THAN IN THE PAST TO USE OIL AS A POLITICAL WEAPON IN BRINGING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, THE SHAH SAID THAT HE COULD CONCEIVE THAT A BEGINNING TO IMPROVE THE " POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE" MIGHT BE BASED ON THE ROGERS PLAN. HE STATED THAT WHEN EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ZAYYAI VISITED IRAN IN MARCH, HE TOLD THE SHAH, " EGYPT WILL ACCEPT THE ROGERS PLAN", IF NEGOTIATIONS IN TERMS OF RES 242 WERE NOT FEASIBLE UNDER JARRING, PERHAPS THEY COULD BE PUT IN THE FOUR POWER CONTEXT. SINCE THE FOUR

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POWERS DIVIDED THREE TO ONE AGAINST THE U. S., THE SHAH STATED, PERHAPS THE FORUM COULD BE EXPANDED BY THE ADDITION OF CERTAIN LITTORAL STATES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN, SUCH AS ITALY, GREECE, SPAIN, ETC. IN ANY EVENT, THE SHAH EMPHASIZED SOMETHING SHOULD BE DONE TO EASE THE SITUATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARABS IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN TO KEEP PRESIDENT SADAT FROM EMBARKING ON SOME " SUICIDAL" MILITARY VENTURE.

6. AT THIS JUNCTURE IN THE AUDIENCE, THE SHAH SWITCHED TO THE CURRENT OIL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN IRAN AND THE CONSORTIUM. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE PROMPTLY CONCLUDED SINCE IN HIS OPINION THE CONSORTIUM HAS NOTHING TO GAIN BY PROLONGING THEM. HE STATED THAT HE HAD MADE UP HIS MIND NOT TO PUSH UP THE PRICE OF CRUDE OIL BEYOND WHAT HE FELT WAS FAIR, I. E., WE WANTED ADJUSTMENT MADE TO COMPENSATE FOR THE DOLLAR DEVALUATION, AND HE WANTS TO OBTAIN REVENUES COMPARABLE WITH THOSE WHICH WILL GO TO THE ARAB OPEC STATES AS A RESULT OF THE PARTICIPANTS AGREEMENTS. IN EXPLAINING HIS INTEREST IN CONTROLLING THE RISE IN PRICE OF CRUDE OIL, HE POINTED OUT THAT AN EXCESSIVE RISE WOULD CAUSE INCREASES IN THE PRICE OF GOODS AND COMMODITIES IN EUROPE AND THE U. S. WHICH IRAN HAD TO BUY AND IMPORT. SUCH AN INCREASE IN THESE PRICES HE DID NOT FEEL WOULD BE TO IRAN' S ADVANTAGE AT THIS JUNCTURE. THE SHAH ALSO INDICATED THAT HE WAS AGAINST LEAPFROGGING AND DID NOT WANT TO SEE IT OCCUR.

7. THE SHAH POINTED OUT THAT IRAN HAS RECOGNIZED MOST OF THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF NORTH VIETNAM. HE SAID THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAD NOT REACTED TO HIS OVERTURE AND THAT AS A RESULT IT WILL BE A LONG TIME BEFORE THERE WOULD BE AN OPENING OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

8. THE SHAH AND SECRETARY RUSH HAD AN EXCHANGE ABOUT IRANIAN

PROCUREMENT OF AMERICAN AIRCRAFT DURING WHICH THE SHAH PRESENTED HIS WELL- KNOWN VIEWS ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS AIR FORCE. HE REITERATED HIS DESIRE TO HAVE THE NEW CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE U. S. AIR FORCE COME TO IRAN AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS TERM OF OFFICE RATHER THAN AT THE END AS GENERAL RYAN HAD DONE. THE SHAH SAID, " I WANT TO START RIGHT OFF WITH THE NEW MAN SO THAT WE CAN DO JOINT PLANNING TOGETHER DURING HIS TENURE". RUSH AGREED AND DISCUSSED WITH THE SHAH THE ROLE

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OF THE HELICOPTER IN A CLOSE SUPPORT TACTICAL CAPACITY.

10. PICKING UP THE THEME OF WORLDWIDE DEVELOPMENTS, SECRETARY RUSH GAVE A DETAILED EXPLANATION OF THE U. S. POSITION ON MBFR, CSCE, AND THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS. WITH A VIEW TO ASSURING THE SHAH THAT HE COULD CONTINUE TO RELY ON US IN THE FUTURE, DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH OUTLINED IN DETAIL OUR DEFENSE POSTURE, OUR PLANS TO GO AHEAD ON THE TRIDENT AND B-1. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE DISPARITY IN THE NUMBER OF ICBMS AND LCBMS IN THE SALT AGREEMENT WAS MORE THAN COMPENSATED BY OUR QUALITATIVE ADVANTAGES DERIVED FROM MIRVING OUR MISSILES, OUR B-52, OUR BASES, ETC. IN SHORT, SECRETARY RUSH STRESSED THAT WE INTEND IN THE FUTURE TO REMAIN THE NUMBER ONE MILITARY POWER IN THE WORLD, AND THAT WE CAN BE RELIED UPON. THIS MET WITH A VERY AFFIRMATIVE NOD FROM THE SHAH. RUSH SAID WE WILL CONTINUE OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO GET THE PARTIES TO THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE NEGOTIATING.

11. SECRETARY RUSH CONCLUDED THE AUDIENCE BY AGAIN EXTENDING THE PRESIDENT'S GOOD WISHES AND NOTING HIS GREAT PLEASURE AT THE PROSPECT OF THE JULY VISIT OF THE SHAH AND EMPRESS. THE SHAH INDICATED HOW PLEASED HE WAS THAT HE WILL BE EXCHANGING VIEWS WITH PRESIDENT NIXON IN JULY. RUSH UNQUOTE ROGERS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 MAY 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: willialc
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE084463
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EA/ PRCM: ADROMBERG: CU/ EA: AHARDING: EBS
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730560/abqcemmn.tel
Line Count: 255
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: PARIS 11893
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: willialc
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 24 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24-Aug-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <03-Oct-2001 by willialc>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> mcm 971202
Subject: CHINESE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXHIBITION
TAGS: SCUL, CH
To: PARIS
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005